

this floor, have a debate on that, and put the bills up so everybody can see how we vote. We have had over 12 votes on whether or not to keep this Government open. Yesterday we had one, and it was to try and bring up the resolution that came from the other body, the resolution that came unanimously from the other body, the resolution that said enough is enough is enough is enough in a bipartisan unanimous fashion and said reopen the Government, and we were denied the right to bring that up.

Now, all day long I heard people give excuses. I heard that someone should come down with their keys, and they said, "I do not have the key to open the Government on my key chain." Yeah, every one of us do. It is not a key; it is a voting card. We all have got a voting card. That is the key to opening the Government up.

There have been 12 votes. If you look at how people vote, you will find that of the majority in this body, the Gingrich Republicans have voted no-no-no every single time, and now because they are afraid we might win we are not allowed to bring anything up.

Mr. Speaker, let me just point out there are a few more historic data that we should have out there. It is also almost 100 days into this fiscal year, 100 days, and we have not finished the budget. Can you believe it? We are almost a third of the way through it and we have not tapped it.

Second, it is the first anniversary of Speaker GINGRICH taking the gavel. I remember a year ago sitting here when he was talking about we were going to have open rules, we are going to debate these things, and so forth. Well, 1 year later we cannot even bring up the bills that we think are fair.

Mr. Speaker, we think we should be able to bring up the Senate resolution opening the Government. We think we should not be receiving our pay when there are Federal employees out there not receiving their pay. Here we are with our held harmless policy, and we said we were going to abide by the laws everyone else did.

What about all the contract employees you are hearing about? Well, it is OK. We will get charity for the Federal employees. We will get them interest-free loans. We know there are 10,000 contractors with employees alone dealing with EPA and Superfund sites that have been shut down. Now, those 10,000 contractors all happen to have employees, and we have no way to guarantee that they get to come back to work or they get their pay or what happens to them.

Mr. Speaker, that is just one teeny weeny little facet. So to say we will try and get charity for the Federal employees still does not have anything to do with the magnitude that is out there. We know 240 small businesses a day are denied the money that they need from the Small Business Administration for bridge loans for creating new jobs, for expansion, for whatever. What happens to that fallout?

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and on and on, but I think the thing that makes me the craziest is listening to this piety about we have to do this because of a balanced budget and because the President is not using the right numbers and he will not come down with the right numbers for the year 2002. Reality check, people. We have not even done the budget for this year. We should be talking about the year 2002?

Next reality check. In the year 2002, this President, even if he is reelected, will not be President in 2002. This President cannot bind future Presidents.

Mr. Speaker, let me give you another reality check. Most of us are not going to be in this body in the year 2002, especially if we keep acting like this bunch of clowns that it looks like to the average person. Even if we were, we cannot bind future Congresses.

So, Mr. Speaker, here we are not doing our work this year and blaming it on the fact we do not like the kind of budget the President is committing to 7 years from now when he will not even be here and saying our numbers are not as good as his numbers are not as good as the numbers they have.

Mr. Speaker, we also hear about how much better and how much more they care about the balanced budget. I am a Member who voted for the Democratic budget on this floor, and I want to tell my colleagues on the other side, your scoring office, the Congressional Budget Office, will tell you that the budget that I voted for has a much lower deficit than the ones the majority party is pushing. The Congressional Budget Office says that in the year 1997, ours is \$30 billion below in deficit, and I could go on with the rest of the numbers. But let us get the facts and do the reality. Let us get the Government open, and let us stop playing games.

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#### SOME OF THE FACTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, I want to take some time to deal this afternoon with something that often is lost in this debate. That is some of the facts.

Yesterday the President of the United States in a press conference went before the American people and made a series of statements about what this shutdown, and he blamed it on the Republicans, would do. I thought this afternoon it would be interesting to deal with some of the facts and our perspective and what this debate is all about. A lot of the debate is about spending more, as they have done in the past, and getting less in return.

Let us look at what the President said. He said this week the Meals on Wheels Program for seniors will run out of money. I talked to my seniors in

my district. Some of the senior citizens are in the Meals on Wheels Program. I talked to them. They said: Mr. MICA, we would be willing to miss a meal or meals if it meant our contribution, making our contribution toward balancing our Federal budget. I almost cried when I heard them say that.

Then I talked to the program administrator. The program administrator said: Mr. MICA, we know you have to balance the budget, but let me tell you, when you balance that budget, include in it, as you have done, a proposal that would give us flexibility because we get money and we cannot spend money because of stupid Federal regulations. So do that.

That is what this debate is about. We have allowed that. That is what this holdup is about because we know that the President will not make these program changes. That is one of the program changes.

Then let us talk about Head Start. I have always been an advocate of Head Start. I love Head Start. Who would not want to give a deserving child a head start? Then I looked at the programs in my district, and I almost threw up. Let me tell my colleagues what we do with Head Start. Let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, and also my colleagues what we do with Head Start.

I have 18 teachers in one program in a community Head Start; not 1 teacher is certified, not one is certified. But we have 11 administrative force for 450 children. This is sick. This is sick, 11 administrators. I thought we would change this. No, you cannot change it because it is required by Federal law and regulations. So our children who need this assistance, what are they getting? They are getting second-class education. That is what this is about, spending more and getting less. I am sick of it.

All right, let me tell you, you could send the kids in my district, you could send them to the best private schools, preschools we have got, and spend less and give the parents a \$1,000 check and still come out better. I have not counted the money that they are spending on the administration for Washington and Atlanta and then you impose on our State and locals to administer these programs. I get upset when I hear this.

Then the President has the gall to go before us and say: Environmental Protection Agency, shut down toxic waste. Can you think of a bigger toxic waste program than EPA? The whole program is EPA. I sat on the subcommittee that investigated EPA for 2 years; 85 percent of the money goes for attorney's fees and studies. Even the GAO produced a report, I will show it to anyone that wants to see it. It says toxic waste site cleanups are done on the basis of a political decision, not on the basis of public health and safety and concern for our children.

So, then he goes on and says, let's do this, that EPA's efforts to prevent cryptosporidium from contaminating

water supplies, something that proved deadly, threatened the city of Milwaukee, have been badly delayed, have been badly delayed. First of all, let me tell you about cryptosporidium. It is caused by deer feces. It was caused by deer feces, as I believe.

Let me tell my colleagues about water contamination. Under Federal law and Federal regulation, we looked into this. We investigated it; 54 contaminants are required by law by statute for EPA to investigate. That is what they told us they were doing. They were doing the inflexible thing that Congress mandates that we are trying to change so that we could look at water contamination so that we could spend less and get more instead of the opposite.

Then Medicare contractors who serve our elderly are not being paid. I will tell my colleagues what that debate is about. I come from Florida. We have a billion dollar's worth of contractor fraud in Florida in Medicare and a billion dollar's worth in Medicaid. That is \$2 billion. How many elderly could we serve in this Nation if we would eliminate the fraud, waste, and abuse? So that is what this is about, spending more and getting less.

#### LEAST PRODUCTIVE, MOST DESTRUCTIVE CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday we ended the first session of the Republican revolutionary Congress. We heard from a lot of folks that are typical of revolutionaries, full of self-righteous zeal, people who firmly believe that the end justifies the means, people who are almost wholly intolerant of other people's point of view. But let us look inside that first session of the last Congress to see what it actually accomplished.

When we do, we have to come to the conclusion that yesterday marked the last day of the least productive, most destructive session of Congress in our Nation's history. Despite all of the promises, all of the rhetoric, we have virtually nothing to show for it.

I will not go into all the quotes from the various commentators and news sources and experts from both Republican and conservative think tanks alike. They all concur. Loads of rhetoric, loads of promises, virtually no performance. I do not have a fancy chart. I have just a little Xerox copy that tracks the bills from previous sessions of Congress. It used to be that we enacted about 450 bills a year. The last time the Republicans controlled Congress, it dropped to 250 bills. Then it goes along until this last session of the Congress we ended yesterday, and it drops off the cliff.

It looks like the 1929 stock market crash. There is only one bill really in that whole Contract With America

that has actually been fully enacted called the Congressional Accountability Act. Do you know what? That bill was passed by the previous Democratic Congress. It was held up by the Republicans in the Senate. So we passed it again. This time it got through the Senate and signed by the President. There have been two other bills, the Unfunded Mandate Act and Paperwork Reduction, both of which the President wanted.

So that is what we have to show for it.

One of those promises that was made in the Contract With America, if the Republican leadership had kept it, we never would be in this position. It would not be the most destructive Congress in our Nation's history. If the Congress had made good on their promise in the Contract With America to pass a line-item veto, the President today would have been able to delete all those extraneous ideological, inappropriate, nongermane provisions in the appropriation bills that have been sent to him. He could clean up the mess, clean up those appropriation bills, enact them and we would be finished with this. Every one of them could have been enacted.

Of course, they would not have been enacted in time. After 10 months of wrangling, almost exclusively between the Republicans in the Senate and the Republicans in the House, we were marginalized. They could not agree among themselves. By the end of the last fiscal year and the beginning of this fiscal year, when those appropriation bills had to be enacted, one had been sent to the President. Do you know which one it was? It was the legislative branch appropriations bill to fund the Congress itself. Thank God President Clinton vetoed it. Imagine if we were the only ones who were funded; none of the rest of the Government but we have taken care of ourselves.

That line-item veto, which was promised in the context of so much rhetoric, is tied up in a conference between the Republicans in the Senate and the Republicans in the House. Let us move it out of conference. Send it to the President. The President could take it. Clean up the appropriation bills. We could open up the Government and get back down to the business of governing. That is what we ought to do. Instead, we are stuck with a new session of Congress that again will be the least productive, most destructive session of Congress in our Nation's history.

#### GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. EWING] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I think all of us come to the well today, I hope with some reason, to discuss the Government shutdown. Yes, it is devastating and, yes, there are people who should be paid. I support paying them.

Yes, we must care about those single parents and single mothers and single gentlemen who are working and have families and married couples who live on marginal incomes. That is very important to small businesses and every one who is being hurt by this.

That is all true. I hope that we will, within this week, come to some resolution. But what bothers me is that the rhetoric here is so shrill, so biting, so negative about this Congress. This House of Representatives has in fact done more of what the people sent us to do than any Congress before it. I do not care how much those who attack the reform movement by calling it revolutionaries or whatever may say. We have done what the American people sent us here to do.

The issue they would like on this side of the aisle clouds the issue. The issue is, when are we going to put America back on a sound financial basis? When are we going to balance the budget? When are we going to have meaningful welfare reform? When are we going to return power to the States and to the individuals? The debate is about basic policy, not about numbers, the debate between this Congress and its leaders and a President who does not want any of those things. So the problem is not just with the Congress; the White House has to take its share of the blame.

Let us review a minute what happened after the last shutdown. We gave the President 30 days. He traveled around the world. He never came to the table until the 15th, when we had another shutdown. So he absolutely blew 30 days when he could have worked with the leadership in this Congress to come to some agreement. Will that happen again if we start the Government up? I certainly hope not. I hope the President has learned a lesson that the American people want the basic issues, they want a balanced budget. They want welfare reform. He promised it. They want to return power to the States. The calls in my district, while they do not support hurting people who are working and not paying them, are strongly for the basic issues here. Balance the budget, welfare reform, do the things that we said we were going to do. People across the country want that. If my colleagues on the other side of the aisle think they can run a campaign next November and win on doing nothing and on blocking the reforms, I think they are sadly, sadly mistaken.

What we want is a President who will negotiate and work with the leadership to come to an agreement. I just want to refer to an article in the paper today. It just says very briefly in the Washington Post that, if the President and leaders of the Republican Congress agree on a plan to balance the budget, the benefits could mean roughly \$1,000 a year for every American family. At today's interest rates, the trillion-dollar government debt that would be avoided by a balanced budget would save the taxpayers over the next 7